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621 592 dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in [156] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By [854] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of [895] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. [586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young [864] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the [191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin [895] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year [894] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who [864] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has [727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one [895] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[156] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household [754] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and [736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his [894] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

[165] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who [154] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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882 intimate relationship with my other informants. This, to-
839 gether with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could de-
[123] termine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse sus-
[795] picion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

• 684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161–162.

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609 578 166 123 you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined 685 by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are 692 made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable 683 settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him 684 on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a 626 man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
• [684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told us that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Pit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wef and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

000 May 14, Oriyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was 685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wof's 587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the 684 white man and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through 578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife 582 of Hayamatanp, Wajumbai, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wof's house late at night and set fire to it. Wof did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tengwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife has died.

578 Oriyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyap came asking for theirs.